

## Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 EURE-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 USIE-00 INRE-00  
OMB-01 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-01 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00  
NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 ACDA-07 TRSE-00  
SAJ-01 EB-07 /068 W  
----- 045835 /46

O R 171556Z DEC 76  
FM AMEMBASSY BONN  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 4143  
INFO AMEMBASSY BERLIN  
AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS  
AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN  
AMEMBASSY DUBLIN  
AMEMBASSY LONDON  
AMEMBASSY LUXEMBOURG  
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW  
AMEMBASSY PARIS  
AMEMBASSY ROME  
AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE  
USMISSION USBERLIN  
USMISSION NATO BRUSSELS  
USMISSION EC BRUSSELS  
AMCONSUL BREMEN  
AMCONSUL DUSSELDORF  
AMCONSUL FRANKFURT  
AMCONSUL HAMBURG  
AMCONSUL MUNICH  
AMCONSUL STUTTGART

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 02 BONN 21238

E.O. 11652: GDS  
TAGS: PINT, EGEN, PGOV, GW  
SUBJECT: POLITICAL ASPECTS OF CHANCELLOR SCHMIDT'S  
DECEMBER 16 POLICY STATEMENT TO THE BUNDESTAG

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REF: BONN 21122

BEGIN SUMMARY: THE TONE AND CONTENT OF SCHMIDT'S  
"REGIERUNGSKLAERUNG" ON DECEMBER 16, REFLECTED THE  
POLITICAL PROBLEMS OF THE SOCIAL/LIBERAL COALITION.  
SCHMIDT SPOKE FOR TWO AND ONE-HALF HOURS, AND INCLUDED

EVERY AREA FROM "OSTPOLITIK" TO GOVERNMENT POLICY CONCERNING SPORTS AND RECREATION. THE LENGTH OF THE SPEECH, HOWEVER, COVERED UP A PAUCITY OF NEW IDEAS. SCHMIDT MADE FEW PROMISES OF NEW REFORMS, WARNED AGAINST "INAPPROPRIATE EXPECTATIONS" AND CALLED FOR GREATER INDIVIDUAL AND ORGANIZATIONAL INITIATIVE IN SOLVING THE PROBLEMS OF GERMAN SOCIETY.

SCHMIDT'S COMMENTS ON FOREIGN POLICY REAFFIRMED THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC'S COMMITMENT TO NATO AND THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY WHILE STRESSING THE NEED TO CONTINUE A POLICY OF IMPROVING RELATIONS WITH THE SOVIET UNION AND EASTERN EUROPE. IN SUM, SCHMIDT'S GOVERNMENT DECLARATION BROKE NO NEW GROUND AND REFLECTS THE DESIRE OF THE SOCIAL/LIBERAL COALITION TO CONTINUE THE PRESENT MODERATE COURSE. END SUMMARY.

1. ON DECEMBER 16, HELMUT SCHMIDT DELIVERED AN UNINSPIRED TWO AND ONE-HALF HOUR "REGIERUNGSKLAERUNG." ALTHOUGH NO CHANCELLOR-CANDIDATE HAS EVER RECEIVED ONE-HUNDRED PERCENT OF THE POTENTIAL GOVERNMENT PARTIES' VOTE IN THE BUNDESTAG, SCHMIDT BEGAN WITH SUCH A THIN MARGIN (I.E., FOUR VOTES), THAT HE COULD ILL AFFORD THE USUAL DEFECTIONS. DIFFICULTIES IN INSURING THAT HE HAD THE NECESSARY NUMBER OF VOTES LEFT HIS ELECTION UNCERTAIN UP TO THE LAST MOMENT. THIS TOOK ITS TOLL ON THE CHANCELLOR, WHO LOOKED WORRIED AND TIRED WHEN HE DELIVERED THE SPEECH. THE NEW GOVERNMENT'S STATEMENT, OUTLINING THE COALITION'S HOPES AND PLANS FOR THE NEXT FOUR YEARS, REFLECTS THE PROBLEMS THE NARROW BASE OF

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SUPPORT CREATES FOR THE SCHMIDT/GENSCHER GOVERNMENT AS WELL AS THE DELICATE BALANCE OF POWER WITHIN THE COALITION.

2. IN COMPARISON TO THE BRANDT GOVERNMENT DECLARATIONS OF 1969 AND 1972, SCHMIDT'S SPEECH DID NOT DEVOTE ITSELF TO SPECIFIC DOMESTIC REFORMS BUT WAS DECIDEDLY MORE RESTRAINED AND EMPHASIZED DIFFICULTIES. AS USUAL HE PUT THE PRINCIPAL STRESS ON ECONOMIC ASPECTS AND THE NEED FOR GERMAN ASSISTANCE TO ITS TRADING PARTNERS IF THE HEALTH OF THE GERMAN ECONOMY WAS TO BE MAINTAINED. CONTRARY TO HIS OWN INTELLECTUAL PREFERENCE, HE EMPHASIZED INTERNAL AFFAIRS OVER FOREIGN POLICY. IN GENERAL, SCHMIDT'S FOREIGN POLICY STATEMENTS REMAIN SUBSTANTIALLY SIMILAR TO EARLIER SPD/FDP GOVERNMENT DECLARATIONS BUT THERE WAS SOMEWHAT MORE EMPHASIS ON DEVELOPMENT AID AS WELL AS CONCERN OVER ENERGY AND RAW MATERIAL SUPPLIES.

3. FEW OBSERVERS EXPECTED SCHMIDT'S DECLARATION TO PROMISE SWEEPING REFORMS; GIVEN THE ECONOMIC SITUATION AND SCHMIDT'S BRAND OF MODERATE-PRAGMATIC SOCIAL DEMOCRACY. IN ADDITION, THE COALITION SIMPLY DOES NOT HAVE THE NECESSARY MAJORITY IN THE BUNDESTAG. THE CDU/CSU STILL HAS THE ABILITY TO STYMIE MUCH OF THE GOVERNMENT'S LEGISLATION IN THE BUNDESRAT AND THE FDP IS UNLIKELY TO AGREE TO ANYTHING BUT THE MOST MODEST REFORMS. IN ORDER TO COPE WITH THESE POLITICAL

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 02 BONN 21238

REALITIES, SCHMIDT LAUNCHED THE NEW SOCIAL/LIBERAL  
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GOVERNMENT WITH A CAUTIOUS, ALBEIT LENGTHY,  
"REGIERUNGSEKLAERUNG."

4. SCHMIDT'S DESCRIPTION OF THE NEW GOVERNMENT'S  
"MODELL DEUTSCHLAND" STRESSED THE DUAL THEMES OF  
SOLIDARITY AND LIBERALISM. FEW COULD TAKE ISSUE WITH  
MOST OF THE DOMESTIC AND FOREIGN POLICY GOALS IN THE  
SCHMIDT SPEECH. SUCH THEMES AS THE NEED FOR SOLIDARITY  
BETWEEN THE GENERATIONS, THE NECESSITY FOR PROVIDING  
MORE JOBS TO ABSORB THE ALMOST ONE-MILLION UNEMPLOYED,  
AND THE DESIRABILITY FOR MAKING WEST GERMANY "LIVEABLE"  
ARE BEYOND DISPUTE. THE POLITICAL CONTROVERSY BETWEEN  
THE GOVERNMENT AND THE OPPOSITION IS WHETHER THE  
SOCIAL/LIBERAL COALITION PROGRAMS WILL IN FACT ACCOMPLISH  
THESE GOALS.

5. SCHMIDT'S STATEMENTS ON FOREIGN POLICY WERE NOT NEW.  
HE PAID HOMAGE TO THE THREE PILLARS OF FOREIGN POLICY:  
THE ATLANTIC ALLIANCE, EUROPEAN INTEGRATION, IMPROVED  
RELATIONS WITH THE EAST. ON DEVELOPMENT AID POLICY, HE  
TOOK THE "STATE TRADING COUNTRIES" TO TASK FOR PROVIDING  
LITTLE REAL ASSISTANCE TO THE LDC'S. HIS COMMENTS ON  
BERLIN AND INNER-GERMAN POLICY WERE CAUTIOUS AND  
REASONABLE.

6. ON USSR-FRG RELATIONS, SCHMIDT TOOK THE OPPORTUNITY  
TO STATE THAT HE EXPECTED THE FORTHCOMING BREZHNEV  
VISIT TO CREATE AN IMPULSE FOR COOPERATION. ALL IN ALL,  
THE SECOND SCHMIDT/GENSCHER GOVERNMENT IS LIKELY TO  
CONTINUE THE FOREIGN POLICIES OF THE LAST TWO AND ONE-  
HALF YEARS WITH SOMEWHAT HEIGHTENED TENSIONS BETWEEN  
THE COALITION PARTNERS OVER TACTICS AND THE DIVISION  
OF LABOR BETWEEN THE "BUNDESKANZLERAMT" AND THE FOREIGN  
MINISTRY ON INNER-GERMAN POLICY, BERLIN AND  
"OSTPOLITIK."

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7. SCHMIDT TOOK A LEAF FROM THE CDU'S "NEW SOCIAL QUESTION" AND CALLED FOR CITIZENS AND PRIVATE ORGANIZATIONS TO TAKE ON MORE PRIVATE RESPONSIBILITY FOR COMING TO GRIPS WITH WEST GERMAN SOCIAL PROBLEMS. ALL PROBLEMS, HE STRESSED, CANNOT BE LEFT TO THE GOVERNMENT FOR SOLUTION.

8. SCHMIDT IS NOT A MODEST MAN AND HE IS NOT LIKELY TO WITHDRAW FROM PLAYING A ROLE ON THE WORLD SCENE BECAUSE OF A NARROW POLITICAL MAJORITY AT HOME. AT THE SAME TIME, HE CAN NEGLECT HIS NARROW POLITICAL BASE ONLY AT THE RISK OF CREATING A DOMESTIC POLITICAL CRISIS. BY NECESSITY HE WILL HAVE TO FOLLOW A MODERATE COURSE TO KEEP THE FDP ON BOARD AND AT THE SAME TIME PROMOTE A LEGISLATIVE PROGRAM PROGRESSIVE ENOUGH THAT THE LEFT-WING IN THE SPD FRAKTION (ABOUT 50 OUT OF 230 SPD DEPUTIES) DOES NOT REVOLT.

9. TO ACCOMPLISH THESE TASKS HE HAS CONSIDERABLE POLITICAL SKILLS AS WELL AS THE INVALUABLE ASSISTANCE OF HERBERT WEHNER IN KEEPING THE FRAKTION IN LINE. HOWEVER, LOOKING AHEAD FOR THE NEXT FOUR YEARS, HELMUT SCHMIDT WILL HAVE A TRYING TIME. THE 1976 "REGIERUNGSKLAERUNG" WAS THE NEW SOCIAL/LIBERAL GOVERNMENT'S FIRST TENTATIVE STEP INTO A DIFFICULT AND UNCERTAIN FUTURE.  
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